

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMMBASSY PARIS 3145

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY USNATO

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, GQ, NAC

SUBJ: 30TH UNGA: GUAN AND DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS -NATO

1. SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING CABLE HIGHLIGHTS THE NOTABLE LACK OF REACTION BY NATO MEMBERS TO THE RESOLUTIONS GUAM, OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION AND RECOMMENDS THAT THIS PROBLEM BE RAISED IN AN APPROPRIATE NATO FORUM. END SUMMARY.

2. OTHER THAN THE U.S., WHICH VOTED AGAINST ALL THREE

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RESOLUTIONS, FRG, LUXEMBOURG AND THE UK WERE THE ONLY NATO

COUNTRIES TO VOTE AGAINST THE GUAN RESOLUTION.  
WE WERE ONLY NATO COUNTRY TO VOTE AGAINST THE OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION  
RESOLUTION WHICH APPROVED COMMITTEE OF 24 REPORT WHICH ATTACKED  
VARIOUS MEMBERS AND WHICH CHARGED NATO ITSELF WITH MILITARY  
COLLABORATION AND ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WITH "MASSIVE  
ASSISTANCE" TO SMITH GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA IN "AIRCRAFT,  
TANKS AND LIGHT WEAPONS." FRG, UK AND LUXEMBOURG ABSTAINED  
AND BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE ABSTAINED ON BOTH  
THE GUAM AND OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS. CANADA,  
DENMARK, GREECE, ICELAND, ITALY, NORWAY AND TURKEY  
ABSTAINED ON THE GUAM RESOLUTION BUT VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE  
OMNIBUS RESOLUTION. PORTUGAL VOTED FOR BOTH. ALL  
OTHER NATO MEMBERS, EXCEPT FRANCE, WHICH ABSTAINED, VOTED  
FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION  
RESOLUTION.

3. THE FOLLOWING NATO MEMBERS EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS IN  
EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE AFTER THE VOTE ON THE OMNIBUS  
DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTION:

- A. CANADIAN REP (BAUDOUIN) SPECIFICALLY RESERVED ON CHAPTERS  
V AND VI (WHICH CONTAINED BULK OF THE OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE);
- B. NORWEGIAN REP (VRAALSEN), SPEAKING AS WELL FOR DENMARK,  
FINLAND, ICELAND, AND SWEDEN, "DID NOT AGREE WITH EVERY  
PART" OF THE REPORT;
- C. UK REP (RICHARDSON) CHARACTERIZED THE WORK OF SUB-  
COMMITTEE I (CHAPTERS V AND VI) AS CONTAINING "SUCH A HOTCH-  
POTCH OF WILD AND UNFOUNDED ALLEGATIONS THAT MY DELEGATION  
HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO TREAT THEM WITH CONTEMPT;"
- D. ITALIAN REP (BENUZZI) RESERVED HIS RIGHT TO FOCUS AT SOME  
LATER TIME ON SPECIFIC PASSAGES OF THE REPORT OF THE  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE WHICH ITALY CANNOT ACCEPT. (COMMENT:  
THIS MEANS SIMPLY THAT ITALY WILL NOT SAY ONE WORD MORE ABOUT  
THESE GROSS ACCUSATIONS AGAINST NATO, NOT TO MENTION U.S. AND  
OTHER ALLIES OF ITALY);
- E. GERMAN REP (VON UTHMANN) EXPRESSED STRONG RESERVATIONS  
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TO BOTH CHAPTER V AND VI:

- F. FRENCH REP (DE LATAILLAUME) EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON  
CHAPTERS V AND VI;
- G. GREEK REP (RETALIS) EXPRESSED RESERVATION ON CERTAIN  
UNIDENTIFIED PASSAGES OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

4. WHILE THE GUAM RESOLUTION DOES NOT EXPLICITLY ATTACK NATO, IT "STRONGLY DEPRECATED" THE U.S. THE OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS APPROVE CHAPTERS OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION WHICH SPECIFICALLY ATTACK NATO, U.S. AND OTHER INDIVIDUAL NATO MEMBERS AND WHICH CALL FOR WORLD-WIDE DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THOSE CHAPTERS.

5. COMMENT: THE SORRY RECORD DESCRIBED ABOVE GIVES RISE TO SERIOUS QUESTIONS. HERE IS A RESOLUTION APPROVING ATTACKS ON NATO AND FALSE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE AND ABOUT INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. ALL KNOW THEM TO BE FALSE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO WROTE THE REPORT. YET OF THE FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ONLY WE VOTED AGAINST THE FALSEHOODS, SIX MEMBERS FOUND THE COURAGE TO ABSTAIN BUT EIGHT VOTED WITH OUR ADVERSARIES TO DENOUNCE US AND THEMSELVES. WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF THE U.S., THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ALLIANCE VOTED TO ENCOURAGE WORLD-WIDE DISSEMINATION OF THESE CHARGES. THE PRESENT LUNATIC ATMOSPHERE OF THE GA ENVELOPES US ALL.

6. ONE MIGHT WELL ASK WHAT IS AN ALLIANCE FOR. HOW MUCH STRENGTH IS LEFT TO AN ORGANIZATION WHICH DOES NOT EVEN HAVE THE GUTS TO DEFEND ITS OWN GOOD NAME? HAVE THE EUROPEAN, AND CANADIAN, MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE THOUGHT THIS THING THROUGH? IF WE ARE TO BE CONDEMNED FOR THINGS WE DO NOT DO -- I.E., NATO AID TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA -- THEN WHAT IS THE POINT OF NOT DOING THEM? WHY BOTHER WITH EMBARGOES WHEN WE FREELY ACCEPT ALLEGATIONS THAT THERE ARE NO EMBARGOES?

7. FOR TOO MANY OF OUR ALLIES IT IS EASY TO COWER IN  
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SILENCE AND HOPE TO AVOID NOTICE WHILE THE PRINCIPAL MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE IS BEING ATTACKED. IT, AFTER ALL, CAN TAKE CARE OF ITSELF, SO THE JUSTIFICATION GOES. BUT HERE ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONDEMNED AND ALL JOIN HAPPILY IN CONDEMNING THEMSELVES.

8. THE VOTES ON THE GUAM AND DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS SHOWED A WIDE GAP IN JUDGMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ITS ALLIES ON THE HANDLING OF THESE ISSUES. THE U.S. CHOSE TO TAKE THE WORDING SERIOUSLY AND CONTEST IT; OUR ALLIES PREFERRED NOT TO, MOST TO PRETEND IT WASN'T THERE. THIS IS SYMPTOMATIC OF OUR DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH TO THE UNITED NATIONS TODAY AND DESERVES SOME SERIOUS STUDY.

9. RECOMMENDED ACTION: DEPENDING, OBVIOUSLY, ON THE

DEPARTMENT'S JUDGMENT AND HIS OWN, WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT AMBASSADOR BRUCE TAKE THIS UP AT A FORMAL MEETING WITH HIS NATO COLLEAGUES. ON SUCH AN OCCASION HE MIGHT WISH TO MAKE TWO POINTS WHICH CAN PERHAPS MORE READILY BE SAID TO NATO AMBASSADORS THAN TO UN AMBASSADORS. THE FIRST POINT -- AND IT CALLS UPON AMBASSADOR BRUCE'S DELICACY IN SUCH MATTERS, IS THAT THERE IS SOMETHING SUSPECT ABOUT THE EUROPEAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ANTICS OF THEIR FORMER COLONIES. THEY FIND IT RATHER TOO EASY (AT LEAST IN OUR VIEW) TO TAKE AN IMPLICIT ATTITUDE THAT "THESE PEOPLE" REALLY AREN'T GROWN UP, DON'T YOU KNOW, AND SHOULDN'T BE EXPECTED TO ACT IN RESPONSIBLE WAYS. THE UNITED STATES MISSION TAKES THE VIEW THAT HERE IN NEW YORK WE DEAL WITH MATURE, ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES WHO ARE CARRYING OUT THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS. DOWN IN WASHINGTON, DEEP IN THE SYSTEM, IT IS NO DOUBT PAINFUL TO HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THESE POLICIES ARE ANTI-AMERICAN, BUT WE MANAGE TO LIVE WITH IT UP HERE, AND ARE RATHER SUSPICIOUS OF THE WELL KNOWN PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISM OF IDENTIFYING WITH THE AGGRESSOR (E.G., OUR RECENT CABLE ON THE TANZANIAN CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FOUR.) IN ANY EVENT, THERE IS A SECOND POINT. HERE IN NEW YORK WE ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE EXTENT OF TRUE COMMITMENT TO OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID POLICIES AND SUCH LIKE. WE FIND THE DOMESTIC POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA TO BE ABOMINABLE. WE WANT TO OPPOSE THEM. AND IN THAT MEASURE WE ARE APPALLED THAT THE

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UNITED NATIONS IS PREPARED TO ADOPT A DOCUMENT WHICH ENDORSES THE OUTRIGHT LIE THAT NATO IS PROVIDING "MASSIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE" TO RHODESIA AND HELPING SOUTH AFRICA. DOESN'T ANYBODY SEE THAT THIS IS THE PROCESS BY WHICH MORAL MEANING IS DRAINED FROM SUCH A COMMITMENT? IT IS THE SAME THING WE DID WHEN WE DECLARED ZIONISM TO BE A FORM OF RACISM, WHICH IS TO SAY WE DRAINED THE WORD RACISM OF ITS MEANING. THIS IS MORAL INSANITY. BUT IT MAKES SENSE TO A LOT OF COUNTRIES, AND WE SHOULD PROTEST BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

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